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ABSTRACT

Recent studies have used the notion of "empowerment" to describe individuals who assume a more critical and personally active approach toward the teaching profession. "Empowered" teachers are committed to providing thoughtful and challenging educational experiences for children and encouraging their pupils to develop personal talents and creativity. Little is known about the way in which potentially empowered novice teachers are socialized into their chosen profession, and there is a need to understand the factors that have a significant impact on the professional development of potentially empowered beginning teachers. This paper investigated the socialization of "potentially empowered" novice elementary teachers. Phase one of the research examined the experience of 19 student teachers during their student teaching semester. The findings presented in this paper reflect the field work of the second phase of the research which occurred during the teachers' first semester of inservice teaching. After outlining the sampling procedures and research methods, the paper first portrays key factors regarding the teachers' efforts to put their empowering goals into practice as they began teaching. Factors that had a significant impact upon the teachers' process of becoming, or not becoming, an empowered teacher are presented. Implications for the induction programs in elementary school teaching are discussed in the light of the study's findings. (JD)

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Key Factors in Becoming (or Not Becoming) an Empowered Elementary School Teacher: A Preliminary Study of Selected Novices

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Key Factors in Becoming (or Not Becoming) an Empowered Elementary School Teacher: A Preliminary Study of Selected Novices

Perhaps the most critical time in an elementary teacher's occupational life is during his/her induction into the profession. Similar to other professionals such as nurses (Olesen & Whittaker, 1968), psychologists (Bucher & Stelling, 1977), and physicians (Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Struass, 1961), teachers have significant experiences during the induction phase of their careers that strongly influence the type of teacher they will eventually become (e.g., Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Little, in press; McDonald, 1980; National Institute of Education, 1979).

Ideally, the entry into a new occupation would be a gradual and smooth transition from preservice to inservice status. However, new teachers are expected to assume the same responsibilities as well those individuals who have been teaching for many years with little if any additional support services. As a result, the induction into teaching has often been referred to as a "baptism of fire," a time of "trial and error," and a "sink or swim" situation (e.g., Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Fuller & Bown, 1975; Grant & Zeichner, 1981; Hermanowicz, 1966; Little, in press; Ryan, 1970).

It seems that most beginning teachers merely try to "survive." Typically, novice teachers confront problems such as: disciplining their class, individualizing their instruction, motivating their pupils, evaluating children's work, dealing with the personal problems of pupils, scheduling classwork, relating to parents and colleagues, discovering what materials are available, and finding time to plan lessons (Veenman, 1984). Left on their own, beginning teachers focus on whatever is necessary to keep the children "under control" and meet institutional expectations (McDonald, 1980). That is, they concentrate their thinking on a relatively narrow range of possibilities in an effort to find "what works" to solve the immediate problem at hand (Feiman-Nemser, 1983).

As a result, most novice teachers develop a "utilitarian perspective" towards instruction in which teaching is separated from its underlying educational or

social dimensions (Tabachnick, Popkewitz, & Zeichner, 1979-80). In particular, knowledge is treated as an object - something concrete, absolute, and consumable. Questions of how and what to teach are largely determined by commercially produced curriculum materials. Teaching is perceived as a technical activity of management. Getting through the required lesson(s) on time in a quiet, smooth, and orderly fashion becomes the main criteria for judging successful teaching. As Borko (1986: 46) states, novice teachers "develop the belief that good teaching is something you can figure out on your own, in a fairly brief amount of time." Katz (1974) described this situation as "excessive realism." The knowledge systems that novice teachers confront, the way in which this knowledge is taught to children, and the pupils' response (i.e., the act of learning) tend to be reified. Few beginning teachers understand the socially constructed nature of school life, and as a result, Katz suggests that there is little, if any, searching for potential alternatives.

While the above literature described the experience of most beginning teachers, some research has suggested that not all novice teachers reflected this norm. Several studies have mentioned the existence of a few novice teachers who were reflective about what, why, and how they teach (e.g., Crow, 1986; Crow, Ripley-Klein, & Knowles, 1986; Goodman, 1985; Lacey, 1977; Shulman, 1985; Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). These novices did not take traditional approaches towards education for granted, but thoughtfully inquired into the merits of various teaching strategies, learning theories, and instructional resources. When possible, some of these individuals attempted to alter the established practices found in a given field placement. Recently, several educators (e.g., Giroux, 1986; Goodman, 1986; Kretovics, 1986; McNeil, 1986; Posner, 1985; Schon, 1983; Tom, 1984; Zeichner, 1981) have used the notion of "empowerment" to describe individuals who assume a more critical and personally active approach towards the teaching profession.[1] Empowered teachers carefully

consider the content of what is taught to children, are active in developing original curriculum based upon their own and/or their pupils' interests, and are able to creatively use materials, personal talents, and innovative resources in planning and implementing learning activities. In particular, these individuals are committed to providing thoughtful and challenging educational experiences for children; thereby, encouraging their pupils to become empowered themselves. While this portrait of "empowered" teachers is thought provoking and, as the above research findings indicate, there are a few novice teachers who seem interested in becoming "empowered," our knowledge of these individuals is still extremely limited. We know little about the way in which these potentially empowered novice teachers are socialized into their chosen profession. In particular, there is a need to understand the factors that have a significant impact on the professional development of potentially empowered beginning teachers.

In addressing the above concerns, this paper will report the findings of an ethnographic research project that investigated the socialization of "potentially empowered" novice elementary teachers. This research project contained two distinct phases. Phase I examined the experience of selected individuals during their student teaching semester (Goodman, 1986). The findings presented in this paper reflect the field work of Phase II which occurred during their first semester of inservice teaching. After outlining the sampling procedures and research methods, the paper will first portray key factors regarding the informants' efforts to put their empowering goals into practice as they began their careers. Second, the key factors that had a significant impact upon our informants' process of becoming or not becoming an empowered teacher will be presented. Finally, implications for induction programs into elementary teaching will be discussed in light of the study's findings.

Methodology

The rationale behind choosing one methodology over another is connected to

the nature of the subject being studied and the underlying goal(s) of the research. Since this study explored the complex process of occupational socialization, a methodology that incorporated the existential experiences of the participants, themselves (i.e., their actions, beliefs, thoughts, feelings, and perceptions), as a major focus for investigation and interpretation was necessary. As a result, the methods used to collect and analyze data were those associated with interpretive field studies (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1975; Hanson, 1975; Pelto & Pelto, 1979; Spradley, 1979).

Sample Selection

Following the guidelines of purposeful sampling (Patton, 1980), the informants were selected from students enrolled in an elementary teacher education program at a Mid-western state university. The methods of purposeful sampling are similar to those used for collecting and analyzing ethnographic data. It occurs over a significant amount of time; it involves thorough interviewing; and the final selection is made after interview data is extensively analyzed and discussed by the members of the research team.[2] Given the previous description of novice teachers who seemed reflective and active in their approach towards teaching (see page 2), a number of steps were taken to locate individuals who during their professional education showed promise of becoming "empowered teachers."

At the start of the 1985 Fall semester, preservice teachers enrolled in a curriculum/methods course and early field experience based upon principles of "empowered teaching" (see below) were asked if they wanted to participate in a study of teacher socialization.[3] From this class, nineteen students were selected as the initial "pool" of candidates. These individuals were chosen because they 1) agreed to be in the study, 2) were scheduled to begin their student teaching Spring semester of 1986, 3) had an assigned student teaching placement within a thirty mile radius of campus, and 4) expressed plans to go directly into teaching following graduation.

These candidates were first asked to take the "Teacher Belief Inventory" [TBI] (Martin & Wedman, 1986; Posner, 1985; Tabachnick & Zeichner, 1984). This instrument contains forty seven items designed to assess six major areas of teaching beliefs along the following continuum:

Teacher role: passive to active
Teacher-pupil relationships: custodial to self discipline
Knowledge: concrete frame to intersubjective frame
Student diversity: negative to positive
School/community relationships: distant to integrated
School/society relationships: reproductive to transformative.

These questionnaires were not used to screen-out candidates, but were used as a foundation upon which in-depth case history interviews could be developed.

Case history interviews were conducted with each of the nineteen candidates. These interviews examined their educational biographies (e.g, type of schools attended, memories of specific teachers and/or experiences that were seen as models of "good" education, attitudes towards their past education), rationale for entering elementary teaching, attitudes reflected in their answers on the TBI, views regarding their teacher preparation program, and reasons for wanting to be in the study. Both the TBI and the case history interviews were analyzed in order to locate individuals who believed teachers should be active decision makers, who wanted to promote self discipline among children, who saw knowledge as open to questioning and tied to a particular source, who viewed student diversity within a given classroom as an asset, who thought schools should be responsive to unique community needs, and who thought schools could play an important role in making our society (and the world) more humane.

As previously mentioned, each candidate was enrolled in a curriculum/methods course and early field experience designed to foster qualities and talents found in "empowered teachers." The main goal of this course and field experience was to expose preservice teachers to critical viewpoints towards education and demonstrate practical applications of these views (Goodman, 1986a, 1986b). The

major requirement asked preservice teachers to develop and teach (in a practicum site) an original unit of study on their chosen topic. At the end of the semester, preservice teachers presented their units to the class and wrote term papers that developed a theoretical approach to teaching and described their unit as an example of their approach. Each of the candidates' presentations and term papers were evaluated to determine their ability to articulate an "empowering" approach to teaching and to develop substantive content, materials, and activities for their units.

In addition, university supervisors who had observed these preservice teachers teach during their early field experience were interviewed to obtain an evaluation of each candidate's instructional abilities and general motivation for teaching. They were asked to describe specific examples of the candidates' lessons (both planning and implementation of) that were taught in the field placements. Interviews with the supervisors were used to help determine which candidates seemed most enthusiastic and proficient in implementing the major requirement of the above mentioned course.

Each of these candidates had also taken a course, "Teaching as a Profession," which examined various social issues (e.g., sexism, racism, mainstreaming, discipline) as they relate to teaching. One of the main requirements of this course asked preservice teachers to write a paper on their philosophy of education. These papers were read to gain additional insight into the candidates' beliefs, and the instructors for this course were asked to give their assessment of each candidate's commitment to teaching and their ability to be reflective about and discuss educational issues.

As a result of their case history interviews, their work in the above courses, and commentary from university supervisors, ten candidates were selected as the sample group to study their experiences as student teachers (Goodman, 1986). All of those selected as informants for Phase I of the research project had

been successful in developing an original, substantive unit of study during their early field experience, and they expressed attitudes towards education described in our analysis of the TBI and case history interviews (see page 5). Each informant mentioned that they hoped they would be able to "try things out" during their student teaching and have an impact upon (rather than just fit into) their field placement.

These informants were extensively interviewed and observed throughout their student teaching semester. As a result of the field work from Phase I, the researchers gained significant insight into the informants' educational and social ideas, beliefs, feelings, and practices, plus a greater understanding of the notion of empowered teaching (Goodman, 1986). At the conclusion of Phase I, three informants were eliminated from the sample group. Based upon our analysis of the data, these individuals did not demonstrate a strong commitment to the beliefs or manifest the practices of potentially empowered teachers. Of the seven remaining informants, three obtained teaching positions in elementary, public schools during the Fall of 1986.[4] These three informants then served as the sample group for the second phase of this research project.

Methods for Data Collection

Observations and interviews (both formal and informal) were the two main methods of data collection. In addition, relevant program literature, public school guidelines, and informants' journals were reviewed. Data was recorded on audio tapes and in field notes.

Informants were observed approximately twenty eight hours, spread eventually throughout their first semester of inservice teaching. They were observed teaching different subjects, at different times of the day, and in a variety of settings (large group, small group, and individual instruction). The purpose of these observations was to discover what actually happened in their classrooms. Rather than predetermining specific items to look for, a number of general

questions were used to initially guide these observations: How was the classroom organized? What did informants do in their classrooms? What types of interpersonal dynamics existed between the informants and their pupils, other teachers, and administrative personnel? What was taught? What information, opinions, and beliefs were exchanged between these participants? What kinds of decisions did the informants make? After the first round of observations, more specific questions were developed from reviewing field notes and were used as the basis for future observations.

In-depth interviews (e.g., Bussis, Chittenden, & Amarel, 1976; Spradley, 1979) were conducted before and after each observation and during opportune moments during the course of the school day (lunch, recess period, etc.).[5] In addition, the informants were interviewed each week of the field work. Rather than predetermining specific questions, these interviews were initially structured around various areas of concern such as: a) perceptions of what happened within a given classroom; b) the rewards and problems encountered in their role as teachers, c) the rationale for making instructional decisions; and d) individual responses to the organizational structure, people, and events found within a given school and classroom. As field notes were analyzed, more specific questions emerged and were asked during subsequent interviews to gain deeper insight into situations and to clarify ambiguities. Interviews were designed to discover the way in which informants interpreted the social world around them, and the way these interpretations were used as the basis for their actions.

Analysis of Data

The "constant comparative" method of analysis was used as a guide for understanding the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1975; Goetz & LeCompte, 1981). Throughout the field work, interview and observation notes were reviewed daily. Incidents and bits of information were at first coded into tentative conceptual categories. As these categories emerged, questions arose that were used to guide

further investigation into the field. The findings from subsequent observations and interviews were then compared to the initial categories. Through this constant comparison of data, analytical categories crystallize. As this process continued, special attention was given to data that seem to challenge original conceptualizations (Erickson, 1973). This return to the data source, followed by modification or new generation of ideas, continued until the findings could be presented in some detail. Finally, the informants were given the opportunity to respond to the findings prior to writing a final draft.

Methods of interpretative field study allow the researcher to meet the basic requirements of empirical science: to directly confront the social world of real people over a significant period of time; to raise abstract questions about this world; to formulate propositions and categories in response to these questions; to weave these questions, propositions, and categories into an analytical scheme; and then to test the data, the questions, the propositions, and the analysis by renewed examination of the empirical world (Blumer, 1969).

Limitations of the Study

Although the methods used to collect and analyze data were carefully considered and executed, there were several methodological limitations to this study that should be noted. First, due to budget constraints, our observations of these informants were fewer than we ideally would have liked.[6] As a result, we had to depend primarily upon our interviews in an effort to understand the meaning these informants gave to their work. However, we were well aware that individuals' descriptions of what they do and why they do what they do were not necessarily illuminative of the full range of their actions and motivations as beginning teachers. For example, during the observations that we did have, it was apparent that the informants were not always fully conscious of all the assumptions and beliefs that underlied their work and in some cases were not aware of contradictions between their stated intentions and their practice. Our

informants did state that they thought our observations provided us with a sound representation of what happened to them during their first semester of teaching. However, more observation time would have aided our efforts to fully understand not only the obvious aspects of their socialization, but also the subtle, often unconscious, forces that play a role in this process.

Budgetary constraints also limited the duration of our field work. As many educators are aware, funding sources for educational research is extremely hard to locate these days. The funding source for this project only provided enough capital for a year of field work (student teaching and first semester of inservice teaching). As previously mentioned, most research suggests that the first semester of inservice teaching is extremely stressful and beginning teachers simply try to survive. The implication is that potentially empowered teachers may not be able to fully manifest their unique talents until they have gained more experience (Fuller, Parson, & Watkens, 1973; Katz, 1974; McDonald, 1980). In order to get a complete view of their professional socialization, this research project should continue throughout the informants' first two years of teaching.[7]

A third limitation comes from the fact that four of our informants did not obtain teaching positions in elementary, public schools. By having a sample group of only three informants, our investigation into potentially empowered elementary teachers' first semester of inservice teaching was unfortunately narrowed. Obtaining additional data on even two of these four eliminated informants might have broadened our understanding of this induction period, and thus altered or more fully substantiated our analysis.

Due to the above limitations, one might consider the research reported in this paper as a "preliminary analysis." Despite this situation, this study contributes to our understanding of what it means to "become an elementary teacher." As previously stated, our knowledge of "potentially empowered" novice teachers is relatively non-existant, and this research provides a basis to discuss

teacher induction policy and to raise questions for further study.

Key Factors in Putting Goals into Practice

Although these informants were not aware of the term "empowerment," their beliefs and practices during student teaching suggested that they could be seen as potentially empowered teachers (Goodman, 1986). All three of our informants began their teaching careers with a desire to "really make a difference in education" (excerpt from Hannah's journal[8]). They were not content to simply "be another teacher" (interview with Diane). Each informant articulately expressed views that "traditional" methods of teaching and learning often were boring, the typical curriculum often was not very substantive or challenging, and that the pupils' talents and knowledge often went unrecognized. They believed that they could make "learning exciting and interesting for kids" (interview with Diane). While the informants understood that there might be constraints that would interfere with their goals and expressed anxiety about their status as novices, they began their careers with confidence and enthusiasm. For these informants, the struggle to become an empowered elementary teacher centered on three interrelated aspects of teaching.

Classroom Environment

Similar to most beginning teachers, our informants were actively concerned with issues of classroom management. However, unlike most novices, these individuals were not preoccupied with efforts to control their pupils for the purpose of "survival." Each of our informants discussed the importance of establishing an environment that would give their pupils a sense of "freedom within limits" (interview with Diane). Rather than just teaching children to "follow rules," they wanted to develop a feeling of community within their classes. Within this community the pupils would pay attention and to be quiet when necessary, but more importantly they would learn to make decisions regarding their own behavior, to respect themselves and their fellow classmates, and to

genuinely care about the atmosphere in the class (summary of interviews with Diane, Hannah, and Debra).

The informants took several steps to facilitate this environment. Rather than setting up their rooms in traditional rows, Diane and Debra set up the students' (2nd and 6th graders respectively) desks in a horseshoe to facilitate better communication. Hannah organized her kindergarten classroom into different learning centers to promote more social interaction while her students worked (observation of Hannah, Diane, and Debra). During class discussions Debra would allow her students to sit in relaxing positions (e.g., sitting on top of their desks, sitting with their feet up on another chair). Diane and Hannah used learning centers in their room in an effort to teach their pupils to make decisions regarding how they should spend their time in class. These two informants also a spend considerable amount of time putting items of interest on the walls or hanging down from the ceilings in their rooms. These items either reflected something they were studying at the time or were products of their pupils' work. Debra got actively involved in her students' (6th graders) school life. For example, the pupils in her class often complained about the lunchroom rules (e.g., assigned seats, no talking) and the arbitrary way in which these rules seemed to be enforced by the lunchroom supervisor. Debra not only listened to these students, she helped them organize a letter writing campaign to the principal and set up a meeting between the students and the principal to discuss their grievances (observation and interviews with Debra). Each informant wanted to be in a position of authority within their classrooms, but they also wanted their students to see them as someone who would listen to them and advocate on their behalf if necessary.

Like all beginning teachers, these informants had discipline problems. Hannah in particular had difficulties. Her pupils (kindergarteners) were unable to accept the responsibility of making sensitive decisions and working

independently at learning centers. Throughout her first month, there were severe disturbances (e.g., hitting and kicking, stealing, throwing objects, destroying other children's property) as well as minor disruptions (e.g., talking loudly, messing up the materials at the center, not completing the assign tasks, not cleaning up) on a daily basis (observation and interviews with Hannah). As a result, Hannah found herself disciplining children more than teaching.

> I'm doing all sorts of things I never thought I would do as a teacher. I've yelled; I've push and pulled; I've even sent kids down to the office to be paddled, and I certainly don't believe that's right. What I want is a warm, open environment where children can have the freedom to act independently and responsibly. The question is: how do I create this environment? (interview with Hannah)

By the end of September, Hannah had become quite distressed and knew she had to make some significant changes.

She did away with the fine motor (e.g., blocks and puzzles) and play centers, altered her math and science/social studies centers into enrichment areas, and began to teach math and science in large group sessions. The children only spent fifteen instead of thirty minutes at each center (art, reading, math and science/social studies) (observation of Hannah). Her reasons for these changes were primarily to help her keep control of the class. "I was allowing too much freedom, and they weren't ready for it yet. I was expecting too much from them" (interview with Hannah). Unlike many new teachers, however, Hannah did not give up her ultimate goals. She did not think of these changes as permanent or proof that "my ideals can't work in the classroom" (interview with Hannah). Instead, these alterations were seen as a "transitional phase" until she could teach them to be more sensitive and responsible. While this new organization facilitated her ability to teach, Hannah efforts to develop an open, supportive learning environment were not completely successful. At the end of the semester she said, "I don't think my dream is unrealistic. If I can visualize it, I should be able to achieve it. I have always accomplished what I have set out to do. That's why

it is so frustrating. I can see what I want. I just can't figure out how to do it" (interview with Hannah). Creating the right environment was considered a central element in becoming an empowered teacher to these informants. Even when confronted with significant obstacles, they did not adopt a "survival mentality" in which controlling children became an end in itself.

Teacher as Curriculum Decision Maker

As previously stated (see page 2), most beginning elementary teachers see themselves as merely managers of predetermined curriculum programs. Following the teacher's manuals and getting the pupils through the lessons on time is the primary focus for instruction. Questions of what should be taught, how it should be taught, and why it should be taught are not given serious consideration by most teachers let alone novices. The standardized curriculum programs used in our informants' schools reflected this managerial role for teachers. These programs came complete with specific learning objectives, procedures (drills), materials (workbooks) and tests - all organized for the teacher's implementation. Needless to say, these curriculum programs did not reflect our informants' notions of an ideal education. Each informant felt that teachers should be active in developing and implementing curriculum based upon their own and/or their pupils' interests (interviews with Diane, Hannah, and Debra). As teachers, they were in the best position to make important curricular and instructional decisions. Each had had significantly altered the curriculum and instructional procedures found in their student teaching placements (Goodman, 1986). During their first semester of inservice teaching, two of our informants, Diane and Hannah, made considerable effort to become curriculum decision makers.

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The first step was to discover areas of instruction that were open to their input. The schools in which these informants worked emphasized utilitarian skills rather than content. As a second grade teacher, Diane was expected to teach reading, spelling, math, and grammar. The curriculum in Hannah's kindergarten

class was reading and math. Each of these subjects was conceptualized from a "skills development" perspective in which each subject was separated into discrete skills and each skill was, in turn, broken up into hundreds of subskills, stated in behavioral terms, and taught separately. Success was measured by quantitative tests. While social studies and science were "officially" included in the curriculum guidelines of these schools, there was no expectation for teachers to teach them. Although both informants stated that content-based subjects were as important as (if not more valuable than) skills-based lessons and that skills were best learned from a wholistic rather than skills development approach, they both decided to begin the school year by concentrating on and following the curriculum programs in these "skill" subjects. However, both were determined to do more than "just follow the book" (interview with Diane).

During the first month, Diane established an "enrichment program so that the kids learn to be more independent and realize that learning can be fun" (interview with Diane). She set up a classroom library and started an "independent reading schedule" for the children, had books with accompanying audio tapes in one center, film strips of children's books in another center, created a "math facts" contest and a center with various math games, and used the school computer in another center for spelling games. After the children finished their workbooks, they were free to go to the center of their choice.

Hannah was even more active in establishing her own curricular agenda.

> I took the kindergarten job at Batesville because I knew they would let me teach the way I want to teach; that the things I do in my classroom would be up to me and not imposed on me by the administration or whoever. There are only two subjects (reading and math) that have textbooks. For the rest, it's up to me. I think that I am better than most of the textbooks out there, and I want to be creative and go for it. My favorite part of teaching is planning curriculum. As long as I cover the information in the curriculum guides, they don't care what methods I use (interview with Hannah).

The reading and math centers always contained the workbook pages that were prescribed in the textbooks in addition to activities developed by Hannah,

herself. All the materials and activities found in the other centers were original. Instead of dominating the day with reading and math, Hannah balanced these subjects with art, psycho-motor, and science/social studies centers and lessons. During this semester, Hannah taught several units related to the human body (e.g., the five senses, bones, muscles) that she had developed over the summer. Hannah often integrated information from the various centers.

> Hannah read a short story as part of the morning group meeting and pointed out several of the words that began with the letter, M, which was letter for the week. During the meeting, she also asked the children to point out new objects in the class that reflected the shapes (e.g., circle, squire, triangle) being studied in math. The art center also integrated these math concepts. The children were making puppets, and as part of the class discussion, Hannah asked the children what shapes were involved in making the face (oval), the eyes (circles), the clothes (diamond), etc. (observation of Hannah).

In working with the curriculum guides, Hannah first noted what concepts or information were being covered, and then she planned her learning centers or lessons in order to cover and usually expand what was in them.

Although Diane and Hannah closely followed the procedures set down in the curriculum programs emphasized in their schools, by mid-November each began to alter the way in which even these structured subjects were taught. Diane began to "skip over some of the workbook work. A lot of it is pretty repetitious. I also found out that my class is ahead of most second grades and so there isn't any need to push them faster" (interview with Diane). She began to eliminate specific problems or questions for pupils to complete in a given assignment (e.g., answer every other question), and she substituted board work with the whole class instead of having the pupils finish specific pages within a given chapter of the workbooks. She also decided to teach reading four instead of five days each week. These alterations gave her more time to develop her enrichment program (learning centers), gave more children time to work at these centers, and allowed time for her to plan and implement "more meaningful (educational) activities for the kids" (interview with Diane). During the last part of November and early

December, Diane had the children produce and perform a play during their reading time, developed "authors' circles" and established a writing program in her class, created a "third grade" math center, established an alternative spelling program, started teaching French to her class, and began teaching a unit on nutrition that emphasized pupil experimentation (observation of Diane).

Hannah constantly compared herself to other teachers to see if her pupils were "as far along in the book," and she felt nervous if it seemed as if her class was falling behind (interview with Hannah). Up until the end of November, Hannah pushed her pupils through the textbooks in reading and math as quickly as possible. "I can't believe that I wasn't doing any special (reading or math) activities (from supplementary resource books available to her) that seemed really good to me because they would take too much time away from getting through the books. That goes completely against what I believe in" interview with Hannah). At this time, Hannah noticed that several other teachers were skipping the Level II reading book which was primarily a review of skills found in Level I, and going directly to Level III. Since the guidelines only require that pupils finish Level II by the end of the year, Hannah realized that she didn't have to push her pupils as fast as she thought. When she had her review with the assistant principal, she was given support to make curricular decisions regarding reading and math. As a result, Hannah, like Diane, started substituting more meaningful activities from her perspective than just following along in the textbooks.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of becoming an empowered elementary teacher was Diane's and Hannah's desire and effort to become curriculum decision-makers rather than just managers of pre-established programs. Working towards this goal required self confidence, talent, and the willingness to put in extra hours into their job.

Learning and Thinking

The basic process of instruction found within the schools' standardized

curriculum programs reflected a pre-test/drillwork/post-test format. These programs asked students to read (or listen), memorize, and repeat unambiguous "right answers" found in a given textbook. As previously mentioned, most novice teachers take this style of learning for granted. Each of our informants, however, expressed that pupils learn best when given a variety of sources and activities from which to learn, and that children should be challenged to think about (given their cognitive abilities) rather than just memorize information out of a text (summary of interviews with Diane, Hannah, and Debra).

As a result, the units developed by Diane and Hannah emphasized using multiple resources (e.g., children's books and magazines, film strips, movies, guest speakers, photographs, resource books) and a wide variety of activities (e.g., art projects, role plays, creative writing, games, discussions, presentations) while studying a given topic (observations and interviews with Diane and Hannah). By offering this diversity of resources and activities, these informants hoped that students would have a greater opportunity to become interested in and find the best avenue from which they could learn about a given topic.

> Most kindergarten teachers skip over teaching the kids content, but I think it's really important. I feel really good about my science units. Yesterday we had a review discussion, and the kids could tell me all kinds of things we've been studying. They could tell me the definition of the word, unique, and why each person is unique. They could tell me about nerve endings and why their hands are more sensitive than other parts of their body. They could tell me about bones and how our skeleton works, about muscles, and what food is good for which parts of the body. They weren't just telling stories; they really learned this material. I was so excited, it made me feel great. (interview with Hannah)

Both Diane and Hannah felt a special sense of accomplishment when their students seemed interested in learning as a result of their personal efforts at curriculum development.

Like the other two informants, Debra believed in helping students recognize their innate intelligence by legitimatizing their ideas and knowledge-base within

the classroom. At the same time, she felt strongly about "getting kids to critically think" about what they were studying. In fact, one reason why Debra wanted to teach sixth grade was that these pupils were old enough to think abstractly about important ideas. She was happy to be assigned the subject of social studies (Social studies, science and English were departmentalized in Debra's school.) because she felt that it would provide her with opportunities to intellectually challenge the students (interview with Debra). Debra brought a unique talent, the ability to generate substantive dialogue among her pupils, into her teaching. Rather than simply leading "question and answer" sessions, Debra was able to consistently lead her classes into meaningful discussions. Typical lessons involved the students reading short sections from their textbooks, followed by discussion, followed by reading again. Once the lesson began she actively sought out her pupils' opinions on different subjects that were presented in the text. She was also able to draw connections between events or ideas that happened long ago or in far away places, and link these events to the pupils' immediate lives.

> The class was studying about ancient Egypt. One particular section of the text described a pharaoh came to power despite the fact that he disagreed with the prevailing religious beliefs of the people. Instead of believing in many gods, he wanted to promote the notion of a single god. When he came to power he moved the capital and destroyed many of the symbols of the former religion. One student asked how this pharaoh was able to obtain and keep power if he went against the former way of life. Debra threw the question back to the class. A lively discussion began with several students sharing their views on how people become powerful in a society and what is needed to remain in power. Another part of the text briefly mentioned a woman who was a pharaoh, Debra stopped the reading and asked the class what impact having a woman as a pharaoh might have on this culture. The students once again offered their opinions on what happens if a woman obtains power in a basically "male dominated" society. In these discussions the goal was not to find the "right answer," but was to stimulate the students' curiosity and speculation. (observation of Debra)

It is important to note that these discussions were not planned for in advance. Debra did not know how the first pharaoh got into power or what affect the woman pharaoh had on the culture of ancient Egypt. These topics came up spontaneously

during the reading of the text (interview with Debra). Nevertheless, she was able to use her social studies and reading textbooks to consistently initiate thoughtful discussion on several topics.

Summary

The informants' efforts to develop an environment conducive to active learning, to make significant curricular and instructional decisions, and to generate an interest in learning and thinking among their pupils reflected the key manifestations of their attempt to become an empowered teacher. Although these informants shared many of the same concerns and problems of most novice teachers, the above efforts reflected a departure, at least to some degree, from the norm.

Key Factors Influencing the Process of Empowerment

In analyzing the data, it became evident that certain factors had a significant impact on these informants' process of becoming or not becoming empowered teachers. These factors included their own personal knowledge base, talent, and commitment to become an empowered teacher, the institutional support they received as novice teachers, the time they had to pursue those activities that reflected empowered teaching, and the response to their efforts from their pupils.

Personal Commitment

Perhaps the most important factor in becoming an empowered teacher is the individual's desire to "go beyond" normal expectations of traditional teaching. Developing original learning centers and unique units of study requires interest in the subject matter, motivation and intelligence to research relevant information, energy to discover stimulating sources from which children can learn, talent to develop interesting learning activities, and the ability to organize the findings of this work into a form that children can understand and enjoy. The desire to make significant curricular decisions must be particularly strong among novices who often feel overwhelmed by simply meeting the bare minimum expectations

for adequate instruction. Although they faced several difficult moments (which will be discussed below), both Diane and Hannah were determined to create as much of an alternative educational experience for their pupils as possible, even during this first semester of their careers. "Sometimes at night, usually on Thursday or Friday, I get discouraged. I ask myself if knocking myself out like this is worth it, but when I get up the next morning I'm looking forward to getting to class and starting over" (interview with Hannah).

Without this level of commitment, it is unclear how far one will go even if initially inclined to become empowered. For example, Debra expressed similar views and aptitudes towards designing original units of study as the other informants, but did not pursue this activity once employed. There were several reasons for her decision, but one was a lack of confidence in her abilities and little desire to test herself. With the exception of a few poetry lessons that she developed and taught to her homeroom, Debra's daily lessons in social studies, spelling, or reading came directly from the standardized textbooks. As previously stated, Debra had a natural talent for leading substantive discussions, and for her this was enough. She felt able to get her students to think critically without altering the basic curriculum. "I was feeling guilty because I have been going straight from the book. In every class I took at ____ University, I was told to develop my own curriculum. I'm feeling better now because the kids love to sit around and talk about that (information found in the textbook) stuff" (interview with Debra). During the middle of the semester, Debra became engaged and learned that she would be moving to another part of the country during the summer. As a result, her level of commitment to "do more" (interview with Debra) was reduced even further.

Becoming an empowered teacher is a struggle. It takes courage; it requires a willingness to take risks; it demands a lot of hard work; and it forces one to constantly reflect upon who s/he is, what s/he's doing, and what s/he hopes to do

in the future. It is doubtful that an individual without a fair amount of confidence and a genuine desire to make a significant difference would develop into an empowered teacher.

Institutional Support Systems

Obviously, it is easier to become an empowered teacher if one has support to do so. Given the experience of most novice teachers, this fact is especially true. In analyzing the experience of our informants, three aspects of institutional support (or lack of it) were particularly noticeable. First, the rigidity of the standardized curriculum and school support for this curriculum played an important role in these informants' experience. The more rigid the curriculum programs, the more difficult it was for our informants to implement their goals. For example, Diane, who had four curricular programs which contained strict guidelines of what and how to teach, had a much more difficult time developing more meaningful learning experiences than Hannah who only had two curricular programs to follow. In addition, as previously mentioned, Hannah had support to take a more active role in making curriculum decisions. "When I had my evaluation conference, she (the assistant principal) told me not to worry if I was keeping up with the other teachers in the book. She told me there was plenty of time to cover what was needed, and that I should do (i.e., learning activities) what I thought would be best for the kids" (interview with Hannah). This type of support encouraged Hannah to continue her efforts. "I have to get away from the math books more. I'll do reading differently next year too. I won't rush to get through the workbooks and will plan more of my own activities" (interview with Hannah). Without this type of flexibility, potentially empowered teachers can become discouraged and defeated as in the case of Debra. "This whole reading series is totally teacher-proof. Everything is controlled by the computer. It tells you what to teach, when to teach it, and how it should be taught. The teacher's manual even tells you what you're suppose to say during discussions.

It's ridiculous. I hate it" (interview with Debra). A couple of times during the semester Debra asked her principal if she could deviate from the standard curriculum. Once she asked if she could use novels instead of the textbook to teach reading (She did this during her student teaching experience.), and another time she asked if she could teach a unit on "Peace" that her fiance had given her. Both times the principal denied her requests (summary of interviews with Debra). This resistance clearly contributed to Debra's lack of commitment to become empowered.

Another aspect of institutional support could be found in the personal contacts that these informants made. Only one informant was placed in a school that had an induction program for new teachers. During her first week on the job, Hannah was given a "peer teacher." This individual also taught kindergarten, her room was next to Hannah's, and they were given time to discuss any problems that Hannah had during the semester. This personal support played an important role in Hannah's development. "Beth has been a really big help to me this semester. Any problem I had, I knew I could take to her, and she would listen and help me if possible" (interview with Hannah). Throughout the semester, Hannah consulted with Beth about discipline problems, curriculum decisions, dealing with administrators and other faculty members, and her own feelings about becoming a teacher. Rather than evaluating or directing Hannah, Beth served as a sounding board, offered suggestions, and gave moral support when needed. Several times during the semester, Hannah mentioned the "invaluable" support she received from Beth (interviews with Hannah). Diane also received some support from her fellow teachers, but this was more typical. They told her where supplies were, offered suggestions of how to deal with bureaucratic responsibilities (e.g., lunch money), and were friendly. Nevertheless, this support was also appreciated. Debra, on the other hand, did not have this type of support. The other two sixth grade teachers were also novices, the school was large and impersonal, and the other

teachers seemed to have a "different philosophy of education" than Debra (interview with Debra). By the end of the semester, Debra still felt isolated.

> I still feel all alone. Part of the reason is just the size of this school. It has about forty teachers, and I hardly know any of them. I think it's just too big for me. When I was student teaching I had someone to talk to, someone to get ideas from, and someone to bounce ideas off. Now the only ones are Debbie and Susan (the other sixth grade teachers), and I don't agree with their views of teaching. I get along with them, but they aren't people I could go to with any problems. (interview with Debra)

Becoming an empowered teacher was much more difficult for our informants if done in a vacuum. While each informant mentioned their appreciation to the researchers for "just being there to listen" (interview with Diane), peer contact and support seemed particularly important to our informants.

Time

As previously mentioned, becoming an empowered teacher requires determination, hard work, but most importantly time. Each of our informants expressed strong feelings of frustration due to the fact that they did not have enough time to accomplish what they wanted. A significant aspect of our informants' struggle to become empowered during their first semester of inservice work focused on the conflict between believing that they must follow a set curriculum and time schedule, and their feelings that to be really educative they should depart from the everyday routine. For example, the vast majority of lessons that Diane was observed teaching came directly from the pupils' textbooks and corresponding teacher's manuals. As a beginning teacher Diane was unsure of what was expected of her or her pupils. "I haven't been told what to do; I've never taught second graders before; and I don't know how far along they should be, so I'm just going along with the book for now" (interview with Diane). Her struggle with time, however, became acutely evident in October as she more fully develop her enrichment program.

> I don't know what to do. It's a good thing I'm not married. I work every night and on the weekends, but I still can't get everything done. See that center over there. It's only half completed, and it's been that way for

> over a month. I haven't had any time to work on my 'Glencove' unit (a study of the local community). No matter how hard I work, there isn't enough time. (interview with Diane)

Diane discovered that by following the instructional programs in detail she did not have time during the day to teach content-based subjects. In addition, several children usually did not finish their quota of workbook work, and did not get to visit any of the "enrichment" centers. Each day the children were given between eight and fifteen worksheets to complete, and Diane spent a good part of every night grading this paper work which left little time to develop other curriculum or instructional activities. Although by mid November Diane began to make significant curriculum decisions and alter her situation (see page 16), at the end of the semester, she still expressed disappointment in her accomplishments. "I want to do more science topics, but the school doesn't have any equipment for experiments at this grade level, and I don't have a lot of time to plan" (interview with Diane). Hannah echoed this feeling,

> At this point I thought I would have things done that I don't. There are a lot of learning centers and games that I would have liked to have made, but haven't gotten around to yet. My units don't have the integration (of subjects) that I would like for them to have. Beth says I've accomplished more than any other new teacher she's seen, but there is still so much more that I could have done. (She was asked why she didn't get these things done.) Time basically. I spend all day Saturdays here, and I still don't have enough time. The other day I was in my room late after school and Mr. Smith (the principal) told me to leave. He said I was spending too much time here, but there is so much to do all the time. (interview with Hannah).

The lack of time to meet their goals was a major factor in our informants' process of becoming an empowered teacher. While each had made some significant achievements for first semester teachers, they were disappointed and indicated that finding the time to develop unique learning experiences for their pupils was a central, on-going problem for them.

Students' Response

Research suggests that most novice teachers do not seriously think about students' educational concerns during the induction phase of their careers (e.g.,

Fuller & Bown, 1975). Our informants, however, were particularly focused upon the students' experience within their classrooms. This interest went beyond most novices' desire to win their students' affection. Although establishing a good rapport with their students was important, students' reactions played an important role in our informants' curricular and instructional decisions as the semester progressed.

Diane, for example, noticed in mid-October that her students (2nd graders) weren't carefully completing their worksheets. "They can do this work, they're just being careless, going through the problems as fast as they can without checking to see if their answers are right" (interview with Diane). While she discussed her disappointment with the class and started a policy whereby students would have to re-do problems that they missed on given worksheets (observation of Diane), she also reflected more deeply upon what her students were doing. At the beginning of November Diane stated, "A lot of the workbook stuff just doesn't mean anything to these kids. They rush to finish it so they can work in the (enrichment) centers" (interview with Diane). As previously mentioned (see page 16), Diane soon began to alter the procedures for working in the standardized curriculum, and she bolstered her enrichment program.

Hannah, who was perhaps trying to create the most substantive changes from traditional educational practice in our sample group, was particularly sensitive to her pupils' reactions. Outside of reading and math, Hannah developed original lessons based upon a review of the school guidelines and her own conception of what these children needed to learn. Most of the materials used in her class were made by herself. For the last couple of years she spent considerable funds in order to establish a personal children's library (She had over two hundred books.), and she even purchased a laminating machine so that her learning center materials could be used more than once. As she once stated, "I put so much of myself into my teaching. When I'm not actually working on some project

(curriculum planning and development), I'm thinking about teaching. All I can say is that I'm glad I have a supportive husband" (interview with Hannah). Given this personal involvement, it's easy to see why Hannah became so disappointed if her students became disruptive rather than worked as she had planned. On the other hand, when they did meet her expectations, she was strongly encouraged that her approach to education was sound.

> The children were working at the various centers, finishing up work they had begun earlier in the day as part of their study on Native Americans, Pilgrims, and Thanksgiving. At one center the children were making Indian headbands; at another center they were making "leather" vests out of shopping bags and drawing symbols on them; and at another center they were cutting, pasting together, and coloring a cut-out of a Native American in traditional dress. The children were eating popcorn while they worked because Native Americans introduced corn to the Pilgrims, and Hannah had put on some music in the background. The children worked on their projects going from one center to another when finished, discussing their work with either Hannah or other students, and showing each other their completed products. Toward the end of this period, Hannah said, "These are the times I like the best - when I can just set the centers up, get the kids started, and then they work independently. There is noise, but it's not crazy." (observation of and interview with Hannah)

Hannah spent considerable time reflecting upon how her students reacted to a given lesson (or series of lessons) in preparation for future plans.

Without some positive reaction from their students, it was difficult to pursue substantive changes. For example, Debra was discouraged by the educational background of her students. She didn't think the community supported education. The other teachers didn't really challenge the students or expect very much out of them. As a result, by sixth grade, the students were very alienated from school. Many were well below grade level in reading, math, and writing. During the semester they often didn't complete homework assignments, study for exams, or get involved in class activities. They showed little interest in what was being taught in school. By the end of the semester, Debra was very discouraged.

> Education is so important. It crushes me to see these kids treat their education the way they do. They just don't care, and I can't make them care. I know it's not their fault, and I have had to learn that I can't do everything that I want to with these kids. I can question them and get them to discuss things, but I can't make them learn. (interview with Debra)

Her students' alienation played a significant role in Debra's decision not to take a more active role in curriculum development.

> I'm not even considering doing my own units anymore. It's a big enough let down when I work hard to get them interested in the text, and they don't. If I was to go ahead and present my own unit and have to react the same way, it would really hurt me. You know how much time it takes to plan a unit. So I've decided to just go with the flow. I guess that sounds like a cop-out, but that's the way I feel right now. I realize it's partly my attitude. Maybe I'll change. (interview with Debra)

Since becoming an empowered teacher requires personal involvement in the curriculum, student reactions to what is taught and how it is taught takes on additional significance.

Summary

The personal commitment of the individual, the institutional support systems, time, and students' reactions to planned instructional activities were key factors in these informants' process of becoming or not becoming empowered teachers. Each of these factors played an important role in our informants' development, and they also interacted in complex patterns which gave shape to their induction experience. Although there were similarities among all three informants, each person found herself in a unique situation and responded to this situation in a unique fashion.

Conclusions and Implications

Although this study has several limitations (see page 9), it can provide a basis to discuss implications for teacher induction programs. Of course, the type of induction program that a school system will develop depends upon its conception of teachers and teaching. As previously mentioned (see page 2), most schools have no induction program; the assumption being that inservice teaching is a relatively simple affair that can be "figured out" on one's own, in a fairly short period of time, and with only informal support systems available.

Even if a school system recognizes the need for induction programs, the type of program developed will depend upon one's perspective towards teaching. For

example, several states have mandated teacher induction programs as the final step in obtaining a teacher's license (Hoffman, Griffin, Edwards, Paulissen, O'Neal, Barnes, & Verstegen, 1985; Smith & Wilson, 1986). These programs were established due to public perception that a significant number of teachers were "incompetent." As a result, these programs were not designed to empower novice teachers, but to oversee novices use of specific instructional strategies. Teaching was not viewed as a complex activity that required autonomous responsibility, an experimental attitude, reflective thinking, and personal talent, but as compilation of specific techniques that supposedly reflected "good" teaching. Based on "teacher effectiveness" research, these state programs listed minimum "competencies" that novices had to show they could perform at an acceptable level. Most of these competencies were relatively narrow in scope emphasizing the management of children and standardized curriculum materials.

If educators agree that quality teaching can be defined behaviorally through teacher effectiveness research and feel that the work of classroom teachers need to be more carefully monitored and controlled, then they will support these state mandated induction programs. However, several critics suggests that this approach to teacher induction contributes to teachers' mental passivity and disenfranchisement, rather than to their empowerment. If educators question the validity of a behavioral definition of teaching and are critical of "teacher effectiveness" research, then the task of creating teacher induction programs becomes more complex. Induction programs that help novices be more thoughtful, experimental, responsible, and autonomous are based upon two assumptions: 1) the vast majority of individuals who graduate from respected teacher preparation programs are "minimally competent" to begin their careers[10] and 2) most novice teachers can be encouraged to become more empowered if given the opportunity. Induction programs designed to empower novice teachers can contain several different components. Based upon the findings of this preliminary study, two

suggestions can be discussed.

First, each novice teacher should be assigned a school-based "colleague" or peer teacher. When possible, this individual should be teaching the same grade level as the novice. Rather than emphasizing the evaluation of the novice based upon a predetermined skill list, the responsibilities of this "colleague" would be to assist the novice in all aspects of his/her initiation into the profession. Providing school resources, listening to a given novice's concerns, problem solving, making suggestions, and providing a model would be typical activities of this colleague teacher. It is crucial for this colleague teacher to avoid being seen as another institutional authority figure. As demonstrated by Beth, Hannah's peer teacher, the novice should be encouraged to experiment, reflect, seek assistance when necessary, and try again.

> Beth has been really great. She has given me a lot of ideas, but never forces them on me. She knew that setting up my entire curriculum into centers at the beginning of the year probably wasn't going to work, but she was sensitive to my need to try it out. When I had to change because things weren't going so well, she didn't take on the attitude of "I told you so." Instead, she gave me ideas of how to keep some of my centers and get rid of others. She doesn't use centers but has never told me that they won't work. When I was having a lot of discipline problems, I was afraid to go to the principal because I didn't want him to think that I couldn't handle the class. Beth was real supportive; she gave me several ideas; and eventually helped me overcome my fear of the administration so that they could also help me. The most important thing about Beth is that she makes suggestions, but doesn't come on too strong. So now I go to her for advice. I use a lot of her ideas, but I don't use others, and I know that's okay. (interview with Hannah)

Without her peer teacher, Hannah's experience of her first semester of teaching would have been far more difficult and traumatic. Both Debra and Diane (like many novice teachers) mentioned their feelings of isolation and how this sense of being alone negatively contributed to their growth as teachers.

Due to their importance, colleague teachers must be chosen carefully. As Borko (1986) suggests, these individuals must to be more than just "good teachers." To be able to effectively guide a novice teacher, they need to be knowledgeable of recent literature in teaching, teacher socialization/preparation,

child psychology, curriculum theory/design, and learning theories. At the same time, they should have training in facilitative listening, creative problem solving, and and other "human relations" abilities (Huling-Austin, Barnes, & Smith, 1985). Educating colleague teachers of this caliber will require special inservice workshops as well as graduate study. Needless to say, if a school system is interested in developing a truly empowering induction program they will provide financial compensation to those teachers who elect to be colleague teachers as well as regular release time from their classes to work with their novice during the school year.

The second recommendation based upon the findings of this study is the establishment of scheduled program for release time. This release time would be given to only those novice teachers who elect to use it for curriculum development. With the help of a colleague teacher or curriculum specialist (Schwab, 1983), this time would be used to help novices conceptualize and develop unique curriculum and strategies for instruction. Creating units of study requires the novice teacher to carefully consider what is worth learning and how it should be taught given the specific individuals within his/her class. This work would facilitate within novice teachers what Eisner (1979) calls "educational connoisseurship," the ability to discover "what is educationally significant." Making thoughtful decisions about curriculum and instruction is perhaps the key element in becoming an empowered teacher. While not all novices will be interested in pursuing this type of activity, school systems that want to promote this active approach to teaching need to provide regular time to those novices, such as Hannah and Diane, who would be interested in assuming this responsibility.

Although this study has provided a basis to discuss teacher induction programs, much more needs to be examined. Research into the socialization of teachers has verified the existence of a few individuals, like our informants, who

do not fit the common image of the intellectually passive and survival-conscious teacher. However, our knowledge of these more reflective and active individuals is extremely limited. The purpose of this research project was to establish an exploratory investigation into the experience of individuals who wanted to be empowered and in turn empower their pupils. Due to the preliminary nature of this research project, we have just begun to understand the socialization of these relatively unique novice teachers and several questions remain unanswered. First, how many novices could be considered "potentially empowered?" Given our rather general description at the beginning of this project, we identified seven out of an original group of nineteen. Of the three who obtained inservice positions, only two seemed to maintain a strong commitment to an empowering goal of education by the end of their first semester of teaching. Perhaps our sampling procedures were flawed; perhaps Debra's situation would have made it almost impossible for anyone to maintain this commitment; perhaps when Debra moves to another school district (as she is planning on doing) she will resume her earlier goals; perhaps most novice teachers could become potentially empowered given the right type of preservice education and school-based induction program. Replication of this type of study in other settings by other researchers would help resolve some of these speculations. Second, what factors will continue to play a significant role in these informants' professional development? Will they get "burned-out" once the excitement of a new career rubs off, and they no longer have the energy to give so much of their time and themselves to their job? Will they re-new their commitment to their original goals and get better at putting their goals into practice with more experience? In what way will various reforms efforts (e.g., competency testing, computer assisted instructional programming) affect our informants' teaching careers? Clearly, the answer to these types of questions require longitudinal research studies[7]. Finally, even if individuals like our informants are able to become "empowered," what impact will that have on their students?

Will empowered teachers always provide a better education than more traditional teachers? Do all students profit from teachers to make an effort to empower them? If not, what students would benefit from these types of teachers? Research into the way student mediate their instruction in classrooms that are taught by a teacher with empowering goals would begin to give us some data to answer these types of questions. If the development of empowered teachers is a worthwhile goal, then we need to begin serious research into the lived experience of individuals with this orientation. Otherwise, our calls for a different type of teacher will be hollow echoes without substance.

Notes

1) Not all of these individuals have used the term "empowered." For example, Alan Tom describes these teachers as "moral craftspeople; " Henry Giroux and Joseph Kretovics use the term, "transformative intellectuals;" and Ken Zeichner, Donald Schon, and George Posner have referred to these individuals as "reflective practitioners." Despite the difference in terminology, these individuals' descriptions are similar to the description of "empowered teachers" used in the text of this paper.

2) For this study, the research team included the author and Jeff Kuzmic, a graduate research assistant trained to conduct ethnographic research.

3) These preservice teachers did not know the principles upon which this course was developed at the time they were asked to participate in this study. For more detailed description of this course and early field experience see Goodman (1986a, 1986b).

4) Of the four informants who did not obtain a public school teaching position, two had to move to specific locations where there were no openings in the elementary schools, one entered a Master's degree program in special education, and one obtained a preschool teaching position in a private, residential treatment facility for mentally retarded children.

5) Interviews were also conducted with other significant individuals (e.g., principals, other teachers in the school, curriculum coordinators).

6) One of the informants was located in the far southeast section of the United States. Observing this individual required extensive air travel which consumed a large part of our budget.

7) Negotiations to obtain the necessary funds to continue this research project are currently being conducted.

8) All proper names are fictitious.

9) Debra's reasons for not making significant curricular decisions were complex and will be discussed in subsequent sections of this paper.

10) As Hoffman et al. (1985) note in their study, the "gatekeeping" aspect of state mandated induction programs is largely a myth. Very few individuals fail to receive their license at the end of their first year of teaching. The overwhelming majority of novice teachers in the states they studied scored well above the minimum level of competency needed for certification.

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